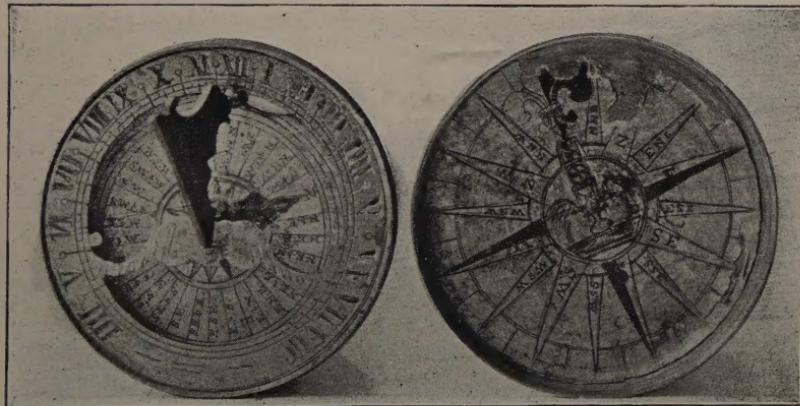


RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVIII

July, 1925

No. 3



ROGER WILLIAMS' COMPASS

From the Society's Museum

Issued Quarterly

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Roger Williams' Compass	cover
Rhode Island Pottery, by Charles D. Cook	81
Jireh Bull Excavations	83
View of Newport in 1740	91
Letter from South Kingstown 1776	93
Notes	96
Portrait of Ninigret	100
Dr. Joseph Torrey, by William Davis Miller	102
The Memoranda of William Green, by Henry S. Fraser	112

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HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer
GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Early Rhode Island Pottery

BY CHARLES D. COOK *

The late Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, in an article published in 1892, tells us that "At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, a man named Upton came from Nanfucket to East Greenwich, R. I., and there manufactured earthenware. The pottery when made was baked in a kiln which stood at the corner of King and Marlboro Streets. He made pans, bowls, plates, cups and saucers of common red clay, a little finer than that now used in the manufacture of flower pots. As little porcelain was imported from Europe during the war, people used willingly and even eagerly the coarse plates and drank their "Liberty tea" from the coarse cups and saucers. The clay came from Gould's Mount, now owned by Mr. Henry Waterman of Quid-

*The following note on Rhode Island potters is an extract from a paper on Early New England Pottery which was read by Mr. Cook before the Handicraft Club, April 7, 1925.

neset. After the war was ended, potter Upton went back to his safety assured home on Nantucket, and the Greenwich pottery was closed."

In an endeavor to check up and verify Mrs. Earle's account of potter Upton, I found that she had taken the story from Dr. D. H. Greene's *History of East Greenwich*. A search of the printed historical material relating to Nantucket failed to disclose any reference to a potter named Upton. The East Greenwich Town Records, to which I next turned my attention, proved more fruitful. Here I found that on December 9, 1771, Thomas Aldrich sold to Isaac Upton and Samuel Upton a lot of land in East Greenwich bounded southerly on King Street and westerly on Marlborough Street. Several years later, that is, in 1783, Isaac Upton, at this time a resident of Berkley, Mass., deeded to Samuel Upton of East Greenwich for 250 Spanish milled dollars all his share in the dwelling house and potter's shop in East Greenwich, the same land that had been deeded to them in 1771. Both Isaac and Samuel were called "potters" in this deed. The East Greenwich Council Records show that they were both living in East Greenwich in 1777.

Having thus determined the given names of these Upton potters, I turned to the Upton Genealogy, and found that they were brothers, Isaac having been born about 1745 and Samuel about 1747, at Bedford, Mass. Their father was Edward Upton, a glazier by trade, who came from Danvers, Mass., where the family had been settled for many years. This Danvers connection gives us an interesting clue. It was doubtless due to their friends and relatives at Danvers, that the Upton boys took up the trade of potters, which they undoubtedly learned from the famous Danvers potters. They both married Yarmouth girls and perhaps lived for a while on Cape Cod. Tradition may have confused Cape Cod and Nantucket. Samuel is said to have followed the sea when not engaged in pottery work. I have several pieces of pottery that came from East Greenwich and which seem to fit the description of the Uptons' work.

The Uptons were not the earliest Rhode Island potters, for Joseph Wilson was working at Providence as early as 1767.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Newport Mercury* for June 22, 1767:

“Joseph Wilson—potter

At the North End of Providence Informs the Public, that he can Supply them with Earthen Ware at a cheap Rate, made in the best Manner and glazed in the Same Way as Practised in Philadelphia—All persons in this Town may be regularly supplied by Means of the Boats which constantly pass between this Place and Providence.”

Wilson, it would appear, learned his trade from the Swiss and German potters of Pennsylvania, while the Uptons carried on the traditions of the Danvers' industry. It is interesting that within the space of five years workmen from these two great centres of the American pottery industry should have set up their workshops in Rhode Island.

Report upon the objects excavated at the Jireh Bull house and now in the museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society

The excavations made at the site of the Jireh Bull house in South Kingstown, R. I., have been described by Mr. Norman M. Isham, who was one of those in charge of the work. Mr. Isham's account, together with his plans of the foundations as unearthed, and also a photograph of the excavations, were printed in the January, 1918, issue (vol. XI, No. 1) of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*.

In this article, Mr. Isham made a brief reference to some of the objects of interest found during the excavations. Photographs of these objects are now reproduced together with a fuller account of them based upon Mr. Isham's notes.

The Jireh Bull garrison house was attacked by the Indians on December 15, 1675, during King Philip's War, and burned down with the loss of fifteen lives. A later house was built near the ruins, and this house subsequently fell to pieces or was torn

down. It is possible that in all there may have been three houses in this small clearing. Unfortunately it was found necessary to carry on much of the excavation work during the absence of Mr. Isham and his associate, Mr. Thomas G. Hazard, Jr., and it is therefore impossible now to determine in which of the ruins some of the objects were discovered, as the laborers were not careful in reporting the exact locations of their finds. Mr. Isham records as far as possible the location in which the objects were found.

Some of the objects are undoubtedly from the house that was burned in 1675, others are certainly of a later period and from the house that Bull built after the war. Some of the objects may be still later, as the ruins of the houses may have been occasionally used as dumps for refuse.

The objects illustrated in plate one are numbered. Number 1 is a beautiful silver bodkin or tape-needle in perfect condition, with one end made into the shape of a miniature circular spoon, called an ear-spoon and used for cleaning the ears. The needle is five inches long, has a round eye and also a slit-eye half an inch long, evidently for tape or ribbon, and is engraved. The initials M B appear cut into the silver, and the presumption is that they stand for Mary Bull, one time owner of the needle. There were two Mary Bulls, Jireh's daughter, who was born in 1663, and who was married before 1687 to James Coggeshall, and her sister-in-law, Mary Coggeshall Bull, who was married to Jireh's son Ephraim in 1692, and died in 1699. It probably belonged to Mary Bull Coggeshall between 1678 and 1687, and so would date from the second house, although it was found near the first one. It shows no signs of having been in a fire, and was probably lost.

It has been suggested that it may have been of Dutch origin, but that possibly it might have been made at Newport. There is apparently no good reason for not considering it of English manufacture.

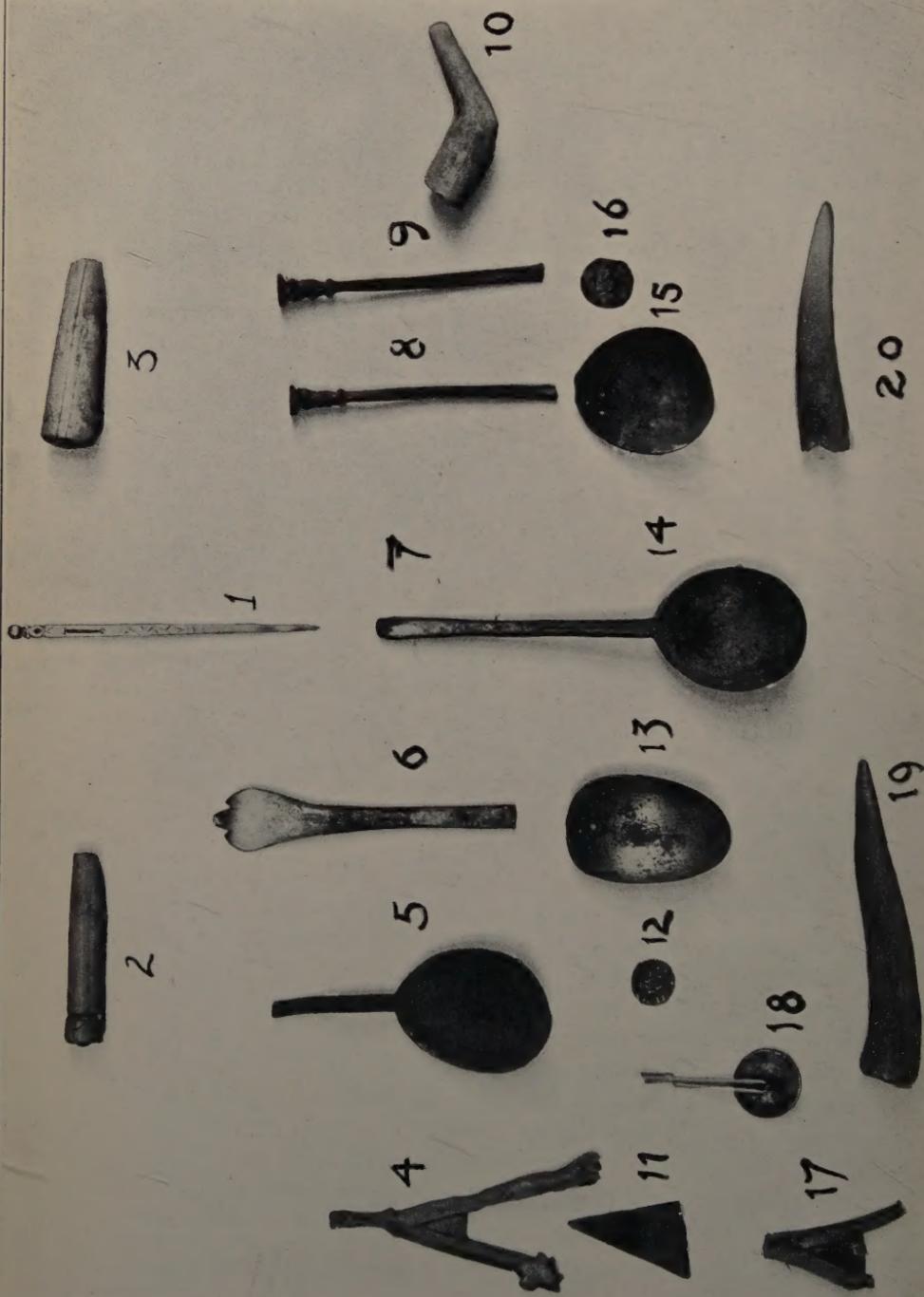
Numbers 2 and 3 are bone handles, the former having some slight ornamentation carved near the top. Three of these handles, all carefully shaped and smoothed, were found, and traces

of rusty iron can be seen inside, showing that they were used as handles for some sort of knife or tool. Numbers 19 and 20 are the remains of deer antlers, and were probably the handles of a carving set. Three of these were also found. There were a number of teeth and tusks of small animals, but these had doubtless merely been cast aside.

A considerable quantity of leaded glass was found, some in its original lead calmes or setting (see Nos. 4, 11 and 17). It had, from its long sojourn in the earth, acquired that beautiful iridescence, which makes "favrile glass" sell at a high price. Many broken pieces of the lead calmes were found and some chunks of melted lead. Most of the fragments of glass and lead are thought to have come from the burned house. The panes were evidently diamond shaped and similar to those of the Fenner garrison house at Providence. The glass panes are very thin.

The bent bowl of a brass or copper ladle was found. This was pierced with three holes, evidently used for attaching the handle. One complete spoon (No. 14), eleven bowls (Nos. 5 13 and 15), and nine handles (Nos. 6, 8 and 9) were found. Most of the spoons were so covered with a deposit of green corrode, that they seemed at first glance to be copper or brass. It was soon discovered that they were plated with a shiny metal, and they proved to be tinned-brass.

A more detailed chemical examination of one of the spoon handles, made for Mr. Charles D. Cook, proved that the brass or copper alloy, of which the spoons were composed, contained a quantity of silver. Two of the spoon handles (No. 6) are of the so-called trifid or hare's foot pattern, a name derived from the supposed resemblance of the end of the handle to the rodent's paw. The maker's marks appear on one of these hare's foot handles. A spoon of this type was found in the Princess Ninigret grave of about 1690. Four of the spoon handles are similar to Numbers 8 and 9, and handles of this type were found in the Princess Ninigret grave, in the Tiverton Indian grave, in an Indian grave west of Wickford, and at the site of the Great Swamp fight.



The spoon, in perfect condition (Nos. 7 and 14), is marked with the device of three spoons counterplaced between the initials T. S. in a circle, a mark that appears on an apostle spoon found in the Tiverton Indian grave. The other spoon bowls, some of which are round and some oval, are all marked, one with a crown above the letters D. Z., several with a crown above a rampant lion between the letters T. C., one with a heart pierced by an arrow, and the others with two spoons between the letters G. C., a heart pierced with an arrow between the letters M. M., the letters R. P. in a circle, and a shield with a sword between the letters I. C. One spoon bowl has two holes in it, evidently for attaching the handle, which perhaps had been broken off.

Two coins were found, one a pine-tree sixpence of 1652, the five having been driven out of true (No. 12), and another coin, pierced and worn beyond recognition (No. 16). The metal button (No. 18) may be from the later period, as also two brass or copper objects, the use of which has not been determined. Two lead bottle-tops were found with threads on the inside core.

A great many fragments of clay pipes were found in all parts of the excavations. Many of these bear the maker's initials, L. E., W. E., and R. T., the latter presumably the mark of Richard Tyler, a celebrated pipe maker in the vicinity of Bath, England, in the early seventeenth century.¹ The marks are all on the white clay pipes, the fragments of a red clay pipe bearing no letters. It is thought that this red clay pipe may have been of colonial workmanship, for it is much thicker than the white ones and of the red clay apparently of the sort used in America. A stone celt (plate 2) or grooveless axe, perhaps used by one of the Indians that attacked the house in 1675, was found in the ruins.

Various fragments of broken glass bottles, both round and shouldered, were found and the stems of two goblets or wine

¹R. Tippet is said to have invariably marked the pipe bowl with his surname spelled out in full.



glasses, possibly from the first house. Both bottles and glasses show pontil marks.

A great quantity of pottery was found, red, white, blue stone-ware ornamented with deep blue and white, a few pieces with almost a Delft blue coloring, a few dark red, brown and white, and also yellow and red grained fragments, the latter perhaps from an English cider mug. The snout of a teapot glazed inside has kept its shape, though broken and much the worse for wear. Some ceramic experts consider that all of the pottery found dates from a period later than the burned house, probably, indeed, later than 1700, but there is very little real knowledge at present in regard to the pottery used in the early colonial period. If this pottery was made in America, it certainly was made later than 1700, but pottery of this type was made in England in the 17th century, and all or most of the pieces unearthed may have been imported. Indeed, it seems probable that the early colonists imported much of their earthenware. The richly colored and extensively ornamented blue and white fragments were probably part of a piece of table-ware, perhaps a sugar bowl, doubtless of European manufacture. There seems to be at present no way of telling whether a fragment of early pottery is of English or of American manufacture, and no way of determining its date of manufacture except within very wide limits. The same uncertainty also exists in regard to the glass. A lead weight (plate 2) was found and a large quantity of iron utensils.

A piece of plaster, hard for its period, was also recovered, but from which house is not certain, and also a broken whetstone of uncertain age.

One of the most interesting pieces of the iron-work is a so-called cocks-head hinge. This is the only example of this style of hinge as yet found in Rhode Island, although it is one of the oldest types of hinges, going back into the Classical days of Roman antiquity. Two pair or more of H hinges were found, the handle probably of a warming pan, a piece of an andiron, a dripping pan, part of a tramel, a shovel or two, a hoe and a trowel.

A piece of a gun barrel and lock and gun flint were found,

which were perhaps used in the fight. The lock is of particular interest, as it is one of the earliest of the flint-locks, having been made over from a wheel-lock. The lock may date from the late 16th century, and its transformation to a flint-lock probably occurred near the middle of the 17th century, and may well have been the work of a colonial blacksmith.

Many interesting tools were found, a hammer for stone or brick work, a wedge, a plane iron, a pod auger, a gouge, and a chisel.

A stirrup, some bits, buckles and horse shoes, perhaps date from the time of the rebuilt house. The shoes are remarkably small and may have been for mules, or the traditional Arab strain in the famous Narragansett Pacers may have produced a small footed horse. The nail holes appear at the outer edge of one of the shoes which may originally have been larger, and one of the broken shoes has a sharpened cork for walking on slippery ice. A lock with the key rusted into it, found near the door of the later house, was another treasured find.

The smaller iron utensils consisted of skewers for meat, several pairs of scissors, knife blades, hinges, a turn-buckle from a window, bevelled more on one side than the other, a latch bar, some heavy spikes, and a great quantity of nails, some of which were evidently floor nails, for they have a flat top, made so that it would lie parallel with and sink into the wood of the floor.

It is understood that practical jokers have recently buried skulls, bones and bottles containing messages, in the ruins in the hope of deceiving future excavators.

View of Newport about 1740

This engraving of Newport Harbor was made in 1864 by John P. Newell, and entitled "Newport in 1730." Newell copied an old painting of Newport Harbor, which, according to tradition, was painted by an officer of the British army stationed at Newport. Newell's date 1730 is clearly an error, for the picture shows the Colony House (State House) which was not built until 1739. Hammett, in his Bibliography of Newport, p. 123, states that Newell's date is an error and ascribes the painting to 1776, evidently assuming that the officer of the British army was one of those stationed at Newport during the British Occupation of 1776. This date, however, is impossible, for Long Wharf is shown uncompleted in the picture, and it was certainly built out to Gravelly Point by 1745 or 1746. It does not seem credible that such a prominent and characteristic feature could have been omitted by the painter. There is still another proof that the painting was pre-revolutionary, and this is the type of vessel depicted. Mr. Clarkson A. Collins, Jr., an authority on eighteenth century marine architecture, calls attention to the fact that the type of sterns and quarter-galleries, the painting of the strake along the side and the jack at the sprit-top of the ship in the foreground are all characteristic of the middle eighteenth century, as contrasted with the Revolutionary period, and that the brigantine shown, although of a Revolutionary type, is such a vessel as might have been in Newport harbor as early as 1740. This would seem to place the painting as between 1739 and 1745, and the painter might well have been a British officer stationed at Newport in connection with the enlisting and embarking of colonial soldiers in the West Indian expeditions of 1740 and 1741. If the painting had been made before March 24, 1740 (new style), it would, according to the dating system then in vogue, have been dated 1739, and Newell might have mistaken the 9 for a 0. Of course, Newell may have merely



View of Newport, engraved by Newell

ascribed the date, and some antiquarians believe that Newell's engraving is not an accurate copy of the painting and that Hammett's date is correct, anything to the contrary in the engraving having been the result of Newell's imagination. It is very doubtful, indeed, that Newell or any engraver in 1864, would have had an accurate enough knowledge of marine history to change the Revolutionary vessels of a painting into proper vessels for 1740. The original painting, formerly at the Redwood Library, has long since disappeared.

A Letter from South Kingstown, 1776¹

(EDITED BY WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER)

So Kingston. 7 Jan. 1776.

Dear Adam²

I gladly embrace opp^{tr} Champlin to inform you that We are in Health, and that your Sister was delivered on Sunday morn'g last of a little a very, very little Girl.³

We have a provincial Army of about 1000 men posted on Rhode Island & 160 on Cononicut who are taking the Hay &

¹This letter, unfortunately in a mutilated condition, is from the papers of the late Judge Elisha R. Potter, of Kingston, R. I. At the time it was written the British were occupied in carrying on a programme of devastation in Narragansett Bay and its neighboring shores. In fact, in December, 1775, less than a month before this letter was written, they had landed upon Cononicut Island and had sacked and destroyed the settlement that is now Jamestown. It was natural, therefore, in such a time of alarms and excursions, that the nerves of the Colonists were tuned to a high pitch, making an episode such as Judge Helme relates explicable.

²The son of Judge Helme.

³Adam Helme's sister was Esther, the wife of Francis Carpenter, son of Joseph Carpenter. The "very, very little Girl" was probably their fifth child, Mary, and the date of whose birth would, therefore, be placed as December thirty-first, 1775. *History of the Narragansett Church*, Vol. I, p. 12.

Stock of from the last mentioned Island. On Thursday night⁴ last the Guard on B Tail⁵ saw 7 some say 3 of their own Men coming over the Beach toward them who they took for Wallace's marines⁶ increased the numbers & their Imagination fill'd the Island with Armed Enemies without waiting to inform themselves or firing a Gun they quited their Station cross'd the Bay & Alarm'd the Naraganset Shore. The Consternation was beyond description. The Womin half naked quit their Houses with their children in their arms. The Men from the adjacent Parts collected in Numbers armed some with Guns some with Clubs & some with Dogs to oppose the Enemy when advice came from Canonicut that all was quiet there. Four of the Fugitives armed at all Points were met by a single unarmed man who told them they were his Prisoners & they surrendered with out opposition & were then lead to Head Quarters where I hear their Punishment is to be tarr'd & feath-ered.

The week before last Gen^l Lee⁷ came to Newport put the Town in great Consternation & seized Col^o Jos Wanton Mr. Bisset Mr. Bours Mr. Letchmere Mr. Nichols Mr. Beal⁸ & from whom he extorted Oaths⁹ some in high others in more qualified Terms

⁴January fourth, 1776.

⁵Beaver Tail, the southern point of Canonicut Island.

⁶Captain Sir James Wallace, of the British Frigate *Rose*, who for several years terrorized and devastated the islands and shores of Narragansett Bay. It is the same Wallace to whom Captain Abraham Whipple sent his defiant reply, "Always catch a man before you hang him."

⁷General Charles Lee was one of the four Major-Generals appointed by the Continental Congress in June, 1775. Because of the attack on the island of Canonicut, mentioned in Note 1, Lee was ordered to the island of Rhode Island to take charge of the situation. He arrived in Newport, December 31, 1775.

⁸Joseph Wanton, Nicholas Letchmere and Richard Beal refused to sign the oath and were taken as prisoners to Providence. Letchmere and Beal were Customs Officers, and all the men mentioned were prominent Tories. *Providence Gazette*, January 6, 1776.

⁹A copy of the oath signed by Bours is printed in *Arnold's History of Rhode Island*, Vol. II, p. 365

This moment I hear the Kings speech¹⁰ at the meeting of Parliament is arrived with Admiral Shuldam¹¹ at Boston conceived in determined Terms to maintain his Goverment in America.

My compliments to Mr. Babcock & Family

May the Almighty keep you in his Holy Protection is the Prayer of

y^r aff^t Father

Ja. Helme.¹²

My Compliments to Mr. Isa . . . who I once had the pleasure to see a few moments at Tower Hill in Company wth Mr Babcock.

¹⁰Delivered in Parliament, October twenty-sixth, 1775, and in which the King said that, "It is now become the part of wisdom, and (in its effect) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land forces" *Providence Gazette*, January 13, 1776.

¹¹Molyneux, Lord Shuldam (1717-1798) was appointed on September twenty-ninth, 1775, Commander-in-Chief of the coast of North America, from the St. Lawrence River to Cape Florida. He sailed on his flagship, the fifty gun frigate *Chatham*, arriving in Boston on December thirtieth, 1775, after a passage of sixty-one days. In June, 1776, he was relieved by Lord Howe. *Dictionary of National Biography* (London) Vol. LII, p. 168.

¹²Judge James Helme, the son of Rowse Helme, was born on May seventh, 1710. He married Esther, the daughter of Adam Powell. He died May nineteenth, 1777.

Notes

There is a long account of William Blackstone, the early settler of Rhode Island, in volume II, number 2, of the *Contributions of the Lowell Historical Society*, January, 1925.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1925, contains an account of the ancestry of Governor John Cranston of Rhode Island, and also additional material on the English ancestry of the Coggeshall Family.

Antiques for March, 1925, contains an illustrated biographical sketch of William Hamlin, Rhode Island's earliest engraver, together with a check list of his engravings, by Miss Gladys R. Lane, also an illustrated article on block-front furniture, ascribed to Goddard of Newport, and an illustrated account of the exhibition of fire-sacks held at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. T. Shaw Safe	Mr. Albert B. Coulters
Mrs. E. Bruce Merriman	Mr. John B. Branch
Mrs. Everitte S. Chaffee	Mr. Ralph M. Greenlaw
Mr. Arthur H. Armington	Mrs. George H. Fowler
Mrs. Charles A. Calder	Mr. Herbert W. Rice
Mr. Herbert J. Wells	Mr. S. Foster Hunt
Mr. Alfred S. Brownell	Mr. J. J. Bodell
Mr. Ivory Littlefield	Mr. David P. Moulton

Hon. William S. Flynn presented to the Society an original manuscript Rhode Island Revolutionary muster roll dated 1780.

Mr. Charles D. Cook has recently purchased a powder horn bearing a map of Providence.

Mr. John R. Hess has given to the Society a collection of photographic negatives of places of interest.

A very important collection of Woonsocket newspapers, containing over fifty volumes, was given to the Society by Mr. George A. Smith and Mr. Henry E. Whitney. The collection includes a file of the *Patriot* from 1843 to 1904, and volumes of the *Daily Reporter*, the *Valley Republican* and the *Woonsocket Sentinel*.

Mr. Paul E. Burhoe, Brown '26, recently found the fragment of an Indian soapstone platform pipe between Red Bridge and the River Road, and presented this interesting specimen to the Society.

The *Providence Gazette* for October 8, 1819, contains an item which shows that at that time the northerly part of South Main Street was called "High Holborn."

The Society has obtained the photostat of a deed in the handwriting of Roger Williams dated March 24, 1674/5. By this document Philip Tabor of Providence deeded "Six acres of land lying scituate & being in that tract of land commonly called the Neck, which said six acres of land was sold unto me by Mr. John Sayles of Providence and is situated on the south side with the land of the Widdow Man, on the North with a highway & on the west and the east with highways" to Nathaniel Waterman, Senior. The deed was witnessed by Roger Williams and evidently refers to the original home lot of William Burrows. This document proves that Philip Tabor was living three years later than any reference to him that is given in Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary*.

Mrs. Comstock has added to the Richard W. Comstock, Jr., Memorial Collection a sextant made in Newport in 1776 by William G. Hagger.

There was an unusually large attendance at the Sunday afternoon talks this spring, the average being about one hundred persons, which is a larger number than the lecture room can seat.

These lectures were illustrated with stereopticon slides and were as follows:

March 1st. Mr. Homer Eaton Keyes, of Boston: "Some Unfamiliar Aspects of Colonial Craftsmanship."

March 15th. Mr. Norman M. Isham of Providence: "The American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum."

April 5th. Mr. Clarkson A. Collins, Jr., of New York: "Ships, Ship Models and Sailors."

Mr. Collins was able to show only half the number of his slides in the allotted time, and will show the remaining slides at a lecture next fall.

At the April meeting, Mrs. Alice Collins Gleeson gave a talk entitled "The Teaching of Rhode Island History to School Children," and explained the work she is doing in connection with lecturing to the classes of children who visit the Society's museum four or five afternoons each week.

Civil War Tokens and Tradesmen's Cards is the title of a volume by George Hetrich and Julius Guttag recently issued at New York. It lists some 223 tokens issued at Providence for use as money during the shortage of currency in the Civil War. The Providence tokens consist of combinations of some 20 designs, many of which are illustrated in the book.

Mr. Henry I. Richmond has presented to the Society a copy of the manuscript plat showing the original lay-out of the land in Little Compton.

The Society of Colonial Dames in Rhode Island has published an historical map of Rhode Island, which is distributed by the Rhode Island Historical Society to the children who visit the Society as part of their school work.

Miss Lilian B. Miner's *Our State Rhode Island*, an illustrated history for use in the schools, was published in April.

Burrillville, R. I., and the Catholic Church, an historical sketch by Rev. T. E. Ryan, has just been issued by the author.



THE SACHEM NINIGRET

From a contemporary oil portrait; which is now in the possession
of Mrs. Robert Winthrop.

Courtesy of Mr. Frederic Winthrop

The Ninigret Portrait

According to tradition, the sachem Ninigret on one occasion saved the life of Governor John Winthrop, Junior, and on account of this signal service and other kindnesses, the Governor, in gratitude, had Ninigret's portrait painted. This portrait was handed down in the New York branch of the family and is at present owned by Mrs. Robert Winthrop.

It is mentioned by Savage in his 1825 edition of Winthrop's "History" and is discussed by Rider in "Book Notes" XXIX, p. 30-31. According to tradition, the portrait was painted at Boston in 1647, but Rider seeks to establish 1637 as the date. An engraving based on this portrait is printed in Drake's "History of Boston" and reprinted by Rider. Another engraving based on this portrait appears as frontispiece of Denison's "Westerly and Its Witnesses." The engravings differ from the painting noticeably in regard to the necklace, the knife and the background.

It would be interesting to know to whom to ascribe the painting of this very early American portrait.

A Record of persons joined together in Marriage
by Joseph Torrey Pastor of the Ch^t of Christ in South
Kingstown. ^{the names, &c. of the} ^{of Ch^t of Christ in South}

Anno Domⁱ: 1736 the persons following.

William Engs & Sarah Lad^s ^{both of them should be lawfully} were joined together in
Marriage. Dec^r 17. 1736. ^{lawfully} ¹¹¹¹

Oliver Hazard of this Town & Elisabeth Raymond of New
London, were joined together in Marriage. Dec^r 9. 1736.

Anno Domⁱ: 1737. the persons following.

Fernieah Miles and Ann Dickinson both of this
Town, were joined together in Marriage April 21. 1737
Paul Woodbridge & Sarah Buttridge both of this Town were
Lawfully Married. July 5. 1737

Jacob Cox of Newport & Mary Maycock of this Town
were joined together in Marriage Sept^r 8. 1737

John Bent and Sarah Smith both of this Town were
joined together in Marriage Nov^r 13rd 1737

John Chaddock & Mary Champlin Indianis both of this Town
were joined together in Marriage Feb^r 5. 1737.

Anno Domⁱ: 1738. the persons following.
Jacob Dindar of North Kingstown & Mary Smith of
Boston Neck of this Town were joined together in
April 2. 1738.

Dr. Joseph Torrey and his Record Book of Marriages

By WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER.

The first authenticated record regarding the life of Joseph Torrey of Tower Hill in South Kingstown, doctor of divinity and of medicine, is that of his marriage in the year 1730. Information concerning him prior to that date is difficult to obtain and is largely a matter of speculation. There was, however, born in the Town of Weymouth, in the then County of Suffolk, in Massachusetts, on October 19, 1707,¹ a Joseph Torrey, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Symmes) Torrey of that town.

It has been generally accepted that this Joseph Torrey recorded in the Weymouth Records was the Dr. Joseph Torrey later of Tower Hill, and there are several facts that would reasonably permit it to be assumed as correct. Dr. Torrey's grave stone is inscribed "died the 25th Nov^r 1791 in the 85th year of his age and the 61st of his Ministry."² He would, therefore, have been born in either the years 1706 or 1707, but probably the latter, as after October 19, 1791, he would indeed be in his eighty-fifth year. There have also been persistent rumors, usually stated as facts, that Dr. Torrey was a graduate of Harvard College in 1728, at the age of twenty-one.³ This is substantiated by the will of Joseph Torrey of Weymouth, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which states; "to my son Joseph his

¹Weymouth Vital Records, N. E. Historic and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, p. 311.

²Through an unfortunate misprint in Miss Caroline Hazard's "Anchors of Tradition," the date of Dr. Torrey's death is given as 1807, at the age of 83 (p. 95). Under the date of September 21, 1788, Ezra Stiles, in his diary, notes that "I returned to the Ferry by Revd Dr. Torreys, ae. 81"

³Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, Cambridge, 1915, p. 129.

Learning at the College til he takes his first Degree, That is to say one hundred and fifteen Pounds twenty-five Pounds per Annum the three first years and thirty-five Pounds ye fourth year of his being at College."⁴

Dr. Torrey's great grandfather has been stated to have been William Torrey, who was born in England about 1608. He was married three times; first to Agnes Combe (died 1629/30) at Combe St. Nicholas, Somersetshire, England, secondly to Jane Haviland (died 1639) and thirdly to Elizabeth Fry. He came to America about 1640 and was settled in Weymouth in 1648, where he died in 1690. His second son by his second wife was William, junior, (1638-1717/8), who was born in England, and probably came to America with his father. He married Deborah Greene (1649-1728/9) and their son Joseph was presumably the father of Dr. Torrey.

In 1730, as has been stated, and two years after his presumed graduation from Harvard, Torrey was settled in South Kingstown employed upon his profession of medicine. On October fifteenth of the same year he married⁶ Elizabeth Willson,⁷

⁴Suffolk Probate Records, Book XIII, p. 13. Dated April 15, 1723 and probated May 8, 1723. The testator was born about 1678 and died April 1723. The date given in the records is April 22 and on his grave stone April 24. Weymouth Vital Records, Vol. II, p. 353. In the Suffolk Probate Records, Book XXIV, p. 248, (1725), Joseph Torrey "a minor, son of Joseph Torrey late of Weymouth requests that his uncle, John Torry (sic), be appointed guardian."

⁵William Torrey, senior, is mentioned as the great grandfather of Dr. Torrey by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, editor of the *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3 vols., Scribners, N. Y., 1901 (see note Vol. III, p. 330). The Diary, as edited by Dexter, has been found to differ to a considerable extent from the original manuscript in the Yale University Library. This has been explained by the fact that Dexter changed the text and added interpolations from data acquired from other manuscripts of Stiles. These changes are not noted and can only be checked by comparison with the holograph diary. Also see the "Torrey Families and their Children in America," Frederic C. Torrey, Lakehurst, N. J., 1924, of which volume one alone has been published to date. This reference also states that Dr. Torrey was engaged as a school teacher in Weymouth in May, 1730, at the salary of thirty pounds per annum. It would seem that he held this post but a short time in view of his marriage in Kingstown five months later and as he is supposed to have settled there about that time.

⁶The History of the Narragansett Church, Wilkins Updike, 2nd ed., Boston, 1907, Vol. 1, p. 123.

⁷Born about 1709 and died May 6, 1741.

daughter of Captain Jeremiah Willson and his first wife Ann (Manoxon).⁸ Dr. MacSparran, soon to be Torrey's legal opponent in the Ministry land dispute, performed the ceremony. There were seven children born by this union, one of whom, Oliver, died at early age.⁹

On December 4, 1731 "four gentlemen of Kingstown" addressed the authorities of the Congregational Church, in Boston, with the request that Dr. Torrey be settled among them to preach, there having been no one in that locality since the departure of Samuel Niles in 1710.¹⁰ This was granted, and in April of the following year the authorities were again petitioned, this time with the request that Torrey be ordained.

As a result, a church was formed and on May 17, 1732, Torrey was ordained,¹¹ the first Congregational minister by ordination in South Kingstown, by the Rev. Samuel Niles, Rev. John Webb, Rev. Thomas Prince and the Rev. James Searing.

Within a short period after his ordination Dr. Torrey was involved in litigation, for and in behalf of his Church, for the possession of the tract of land set aside by the original Pettaquamscut Purchasers, in 1668, and designated by them, with intentional ambiguity as "For the Ministry."¹² Dr. Mac-

⁸Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, J. O. Austin, p. 230.

⁹The children were: Elizabeth, born July 19, 1731, married Edward Adams of Killingly, Conn.; Joseph, born February 4, 1732/3, married December, 1757, Hannah Fisk, died February 19, 1804 (See notice in *Providence Gazette*, March 31, 1804), lived in Killingly; Oliver, born February 14, 1734/5, died young; Ann, born May 13, 1737, married Thomas Hawkins, May 25, 1758; Samuel Holden, born 1738, married Ann Gould, died 1786; Mary, married Wm. W. Pollock of South Kingstown; and Lucy, married an Osgood of Boston.

¹⁰There had been four Congregational preachers settled in South Kingstown prior to Dr. Torrey: Woodward, Danforth, Flynt and Niles. (Early History of Narragansett, E. R. Potter, p. 278.)

¹¹History of the Narragansett Church, Vol. I, p. 374.

¹²The Purchasers, being members of both the Church of England and of the Congregational Church, and fearing the result of definite assignment of the land to either Church, chose this means of compromise. (Early History of Narragansett, pp. 123-130, and History of the Narragansett Church, Vol. I, pp. 76-83.) The land contained about 300 acres and was situated to the east of, and near to Wordens Pond in South

Sparren¹³ claimed this land for the Church of England and for twenty years, from 1732 until 1752, when Dr. Torrey emerged victorious, the legal conflict was waged by the representatives of the two churches.

Dr. Torrey's first wife died in 1741 and on May 24, 1750 he married, at Stoneham, Mass., Elizabeth Fisk, the daughter of the Rev. John Fisk of Killingly, Connecticut,¹⁴ who was the first ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Putnam. Elizabeth Fisk would appear to have been the sister of Hannah, who later married Joseph Torrey, junior. By his second wife, Dr. Torrey had eight children,¹⁵ two of whom died in infancy and whose names are unknown.

Dr. Torrey's meeting house stood on an acre of land, given by Judge Samuel Sewell and his wife Hannah in 1707, which was situated on the easterly side of the Post Road on Tower Hill and south of the road which leads to the Pettaquamscut, or Narrow, River. Torrey lived on the south side of the road leading westward from the Post Road, a short distance to the south of the Church lot.¹⁶ Updike says that "The Church gathered by Dr. Torrey was never large, but yet was respectable in numbers dwindling, however, in the latter part of his life."¹⁷

Kingstown. The tract appears on several plats of the Purchase, one of which has been published in the first volume of Rhode Island Land Evidences, R. I. Historical Society, Providence, 1921. This land was eventually sold and the proceeds now form a fund in the treasury of the Church in Kingston.

¹³Dr. James MacSparran was a minister of the Church of England and resident in South Kingstown. An excellent account of his life appears as an Introduction to his "Diary", edited by the Rev. Daniel Goodwin, Boston, 1899.

¹⁴Elizabeth Fisk was born about 1721 and died July 16, 1780. (The Torrey Families and their Children in America, Vol. I, p. 87). Stiles' Diary, Vol. I, p. 165 and note. Dr. Fisk is elsewhere mentioned as having large estates in Killingly. Dr. Torrey owned a house and fifty acres in that Town at the time of his death (Joseph Torrey's will). Stiles states that Dr. Fisk died May 14, 1773 "aet 90 & supra, emeritus."

¹⁵Children were: John Fisk, born 1750; Oliver, William, Abigail, Sarah and Elizabeth.

¹⁶In his will (South Kingstown Probate Records, Book VI, pp. 246-7-8), Dr. Torrey gives the bounds of "my Mansion House & Land."

¹⁷History of the Narragansett Ch̄rch, Vol. I, p. 124.

Ezra Stiles writes in his diary that at the age of 81 years, Dr. Torrey was unable to preach—"No Meet^g held at his meet^g house"¹⁸

Dr. Torrey died November 25, 1791¹⁹ in his eighty-fifth year and after over sixty-one years service to the community as minister to its physical²⁰ and spiritual well being. His grave, with the graves of his wives on either side, lies in the small overgrown bit of ground where many of his parishioners are buried and where his meeting house stood.

There was recently found among the papers collected by the late Hon. Elisha R. Potter of Kingston, a small "home made" copy book which, upon examination, proved to be the records of the "names etc. of the persons joyned together in Marriage by Joseph Torrey." The records, covering a period of forty-seven years, 1736-1783, are in the Doctor's own hand, which loses its strength, but not its clarity, as the pages are filled. These records are published here, for what is believed to be the first time, and in the hope that they will be of genealogical value and interest.

"A Record of the Names &c of the persons joyned together in Marriage by Joseph Torrey Pastor of the Chts: of Christ in South Kingstown.

Anno Domⁱ: 1736 the persons following

William Enos & Sarah Lad: both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Oc^{br} 17th 1736

Oliver Haszard of this Town & Elisabeth Raymond of New London: were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage. Dec^r 9th 1736

¹⁸Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, Vol. III, p. 330.

¹⁹Notices of his death appeared in the *Providence Gazette*, December 24, 1791, and the *U. S. Chronicle*, December 22, 1791. Also the Stiles' Diary, Vol. III, p. 437. The date is given as inscribed on his gravestone.

²⁰It is interesting to note that Dr. Torrey was voted Two Pounds by the Assembly in 1751 (Act and Resolves, November, 1751) for services rendered in connection with the case of the murderer Thomas Carter. This was probably for medical attention, as Dr. MacSparran acted with zealous ability as Carter's spiritual "advisor." (History of the Narragansett Church and also MacSparran's Diary, p. XXVI.)

Anno Domⁱ: 1737. the persons Following

Jeremiah Niles and Ann Dickinson both of this Town; were
Lawfully joyned together in Marriage April 21st 1737

Paul Woodbridge & Sarah Gretridge both of this town were
Lawfully Married. July 5. 1737

Jacob Cox of Newport & Mary Haydon of this Town were
Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Sep^{tr} ye 8th 1737

John Bent and Sarah Smith both of this Town were Lawfully
joyned together in Marriage Nov^{br} ye 13th 1737

John Chaddock & Mary Champlin (Indians) both of this
Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Feb: 5 1737

Anno Domⁱ 1738. the persons Following

Jacob Pindar of North Kingstown & Mary Smith of Boston
Neck in this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage
April y^e 2^d. 1738

Mr. James Helme of South Kingstown & Mrs. Esther Powel
of North Kingstown were Lawfully Married Oc^{br} 19th 1738

John Bailey Jun^r of Newport & Elisabeth Bennet of this
Town were lawfully joyned together in Marriage Feb: 11, 1738.

Cap^t John Williams of Stonington in the Colony of Connecti-
cutt & the Widow Mary Helme of this Town were Lawfully
joyned together in Marriage March 7th 1738

John Dye & Abigail Wilkinson both of this Town were Law-
fully joyned together in Marriage March 18th 1738

Nathaniel Helme & Mary (the Daughter of Robert & Kath-
erine Hannah) Both of this Town were Lawfully Married April
15 1739.

Benja: Tucker & Mary (the Daughter of John & Elisabeth)
Smith both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in
Marriage April 29. 1739

James Duglas & Hannah (the Daughter of William & Ann)
Cole both of North Kingstown were Lawfully Joyned together
in Marriage April 30. 1739

William Polluck & Mary (the Daughter of Jeremiah & Mary)
Willson both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in
Marriage May 10th 1739

Joshua Tifft & Sarah Pindar (Indians) both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage August 2^d 1739

Mr. Samuel Niles Jun^r of Braintree in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay & Miss Sarah Niles (the Daughter of Mr. Nath^l & Mrs Mary Niles of South Kingstown) were Lawfully Joyned together In Marriage Decr 20 1739

William Callahan Residing in this Town & Mary Norton of James Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Feb^b 17th 1739.

Jonas Belton of Groton in the Colony of Connecticutt & Tabitha Niles (the Daught^r of Mr Nath^l & Mary Niles) were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage April 3^d 1740

James Rose Residing in this Town & Sarah Bellington of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage April 20th 1740

Joseph Hamand Jun^r of this Town & Elisabeth (the Daughter of John & Mercy) Paine of James Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage July 10th 1740.

Joseph Holloway and Katherine Hannah both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage March 11th 1740

Michael Armstrong and Lydia Mott both of North Kingstown were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage March 12th 1740/1

Simeon Palmer and Sarah Niles (Daughter of Ebenezer & Abigail Niles) both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage March 25 1741/2

Israel Peirce and Dorothy Wilkinson both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage May 23^d 1742

John Gardner of this Town & Mercy Wilkinson of Charlestown were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage June 24th 1742

Nathan Gardner & Katherine (the Daughter of Mr Nath^l & Mary) Niles Both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Oct^{br} 21. 1742

John Potter (son of Ichabod) and Elizabeth Hannah both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Feb. 20. 1742.

James Haszard & Sarah Cummock (Indians) both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage May 1st 1743.

William Caswell & the Widow Susannah Haggar Both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Sep^{tr} 4. 1743

Jonathan Johnson & Patience Haszard (Indians) both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Oct^r 20th 1743.

John Grenman & the Widow Hannah Smith both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 24. 1743.

Nathan Jackwise & the Widow Jemima Parr both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 8th 1743.

Latham Clark & Lucy Mumford both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Jan^y 19th 1743.

John Bent & Mary Billington both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Feb^r 2 1743.

Thomas Gardner (Son of William Gardner) of this Town & Mary Higginbotham of North Kingstown were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage April 12. 1744.

Jacob Haszard & Ruth Allen (Indians) both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage May 20th 1744.

Charles Campbell & Mary Sweet Both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 14. 1744.

Cap^t Silas Niles and M^{rs} Hannah Mumford both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 9. 1744.

Joseph Austin & Mary Lee Both of North Kingston were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 22 1744.

Samuel Willson and Hannah (the Daughter of Immanuel & Hannah) Case both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 30. 1744.

Primus a Mulatto man & Widow Hannah Toby an Indian Woman both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage March 3^d 1744.

Rowse Helme And Mercy Thomas both of North Kingston were Lawfully Married March 24. 1744.

William Tisdale Residing in this Town & Lucy Hamand of North Kingston were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage May 23 1745.

Benedict Helme & Sarah Helme both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 2. 1746.

Joseph Hollaway & abigail Niles both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 30. 1746.

Joseph Billington & Abigail Braman both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 21. 1746.

James Haszard a Mullatto Man & Sarah Sam an Indian Woman both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage March 22. 1746.

Oliver Tenant and Barbary Fowler both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage April 3. 1747.

James Fry Residing in this Town & the Widow Mary Reynolds of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage May 1. 1747.

Paul Niles & Lucannah Keen both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Jan^y 3. 1747.

James Buckminster & Penelope Niles both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Jan^y 7. 1747.

John Potter Esq^r and M^{rs} Elizabeth Haszard (Daughter of Stephen Haszard Esq^r and Mary Haszard) both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Oct^r 19. 1749.

William Constable & the Widow Rebecca Rogers were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Aug. 12. 1750.

John Duglass & Lydia Tripp both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Sep^{tr} 9. 1750.

Elisha Lewis Residing in this Town & Sarah Braman of this (sic) we (sic) Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 19. 1750.

Nathan Gorham Residing in this Town & Susannah Kelly of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage May 14. 1751.

Ephraim Drake Residing within Town & Rhoda Oatley of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 1. 1750.

Rynser Quackenbush & Ann Arnold both residing in this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage June 23. 1751.

Joseph Holloway & Elisabeth Potter both of this Town Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Nov^r 2. 1751

Stephen Shearman (Son of Elisha Shearman) of North Kingston and Magaret Lesley of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Dec^r 5. 1751.

Griffin Barney of Newport & Sarah Haszard (Daughter of Jonathan Haszard Dec^d) of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Ap. 23. 1752.

Richard Haszard and Susannah Haszard (Daughter of George Haszard Dec^d) both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Ap. 16. 1752.

Daniel Steadman & Susannah Perry both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage.

Lemuel Smith & Barbary Northup both of North Kingston were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage. Ap. 6 1752.

William Oakley & Elizabeth Mott both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage. July 2. 1752.

Daniel Weeden & Martha Potter both of this Town were Lawfully Joyned together in Marriage Jan. 7. 1753.

Caleb Tripp & Mary Everitt Both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Oct^r 7. 1753.

Charles Spooner of Newport & Patience Northup of North Kingston were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Oct^r 11. 1753.

Edward Perry & Dorcas Gardner both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Mar. 10. 1754.

Jeremiah Willson & the widow Abigail Dye both of this Town were Lawfully joyned together in Marriage Mar. 17. 1754.

John Cross Residing in this Town & Susannah Sheffield of this Town were Lawfully Married Feb. 28. 1754.

John Waterman of Warwick & Sarah Potter of this Town were Lawfully Married June 13. 1754.

William Sunderlin of Exeter & Penelope Case of this Town were Lawfully Married Sep^t 1. 1754.

Robert Potter Jun^r and Mary Potter both of this Town were Lawfully Married

(To be continued)

The Memoranda of William Green

By HENRY S. FRASER

(Continued)

During the command of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot in North America, but whilst he was actually with the fleet in Gardiner's Bay at the east end of Long Island, a letter was received from General Washington, the date of which I cannot distinctly recollect at this present writing,¹ addressed to the commanding officer of His Majesty's squadron at New York, and complaining in civil and moderate terms of the treatment of our American naval prisoners, according to the reports which had been made to him. Captain Dawson,² of the *Renown*³ of 50 guns, happened to be in the temporary command of the port, and as I happened accidentally to be there at the time, he sent to ask my advice as to what should be done, and if any answer at all was necessary to be given to the letter. I thought it afforded a favorable opportunity of correcting the mistakes and falsehoods which had been in circulation upon the subject, and I therefore recommended to Captain Dawson to appoint a respectable committee to consist of persons disinterested as to the points and matters in question, and respectable for rank and character, to go into a full investigation of the subject and to prepare a full and ample report, taking the letter of General Washington as the basis of their proceedings.

The individuals thus selected were Rupert George, Esquire, a captain in the navy,⁴ a major in the British army, and two

¹The letter was dated Jan. 25, 1781. It is printed in W. C. Ford, *ed.*, *The Writings of George Washington*, IX, 119-120.

²Captain George Dawson was acting captain of the *Renown* under Sir Richard Howe, and captain of the frigate *Iris* under Arbuthnot. He was present at the action off the Chesapeake, March 16, 1781. He was dismissed from the service in 1783 for misconduct in the Mediterranean. Clowes, III, 406, 492 n. Schomberg, V, 348.

³Captain Dawson was attached at this time to the *Iris*. See his letter to Washington dated on that ship, Feb. 2, 1781. *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress.

⁴Rupert George was commander of the *Avenger*. *The Royal Gazette*, (N. Y.), Feb. 10, 1781.

American captains of merchant vessels, who were actually at that time prisoners of war confined on board the *Jersey*, or one of the other prison ships.¹ I do not now recollect the major's name, but he was an officer of distinguished merit, and Captain George, though an officer eminent [for] gallantry, was equally known and respected for the humane and amiable traits in his character. He was, after the peace, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia and a Commissioner of the Navy at Halifax.² The American captains³ were honest men of plain good sense and perfectly competent from their own knowledge and experience to communicate and establish the facts in issue with truth and justice.

The most serious attention was bestowed upon the subject, which occupied these gentlemen some days, when they made their report to Captain Dawson of the result of their labors, which showed and proved fully that the complaints and clamors which had been currently circulated as to the treatment of these prisoners either in the *Jersey* or elsewhere were false and unfounded. This report was attested by all the gentlemen to

¹This is all quite fictitious. There was no British major and no American on the committee. The committee was composed as follows: Captain George Dawson, Commander of the *Iris*; Captain Rupert George, Commander of the *Avenger*; Captain James Battersby, of the 29th Regiment of Foot; and Ensign De Chambault, of the 24th Regiment of Foot. *The Royal Gazette*, (N. Y.), Feb. 10, 1781.

²Sir Rupert George, Bart. was born at St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, Jan. 16, 1749; married at Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 30, 1782, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Cochren, of the Province of Halifax. He was promoted to the rank of captain, Nov. 29, 1781, and in 1795 became one of the Commissioners of Transport. On Sept. 18, 1809, he was created a baronet, and died at Willesdenhouse, Middlesex, Jan. 25, 1823. Green may have confused his later life with that of his son, Sir Rupert Dennis George, who was sworn in as provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, June 13, 1814. The father was never lieutenant governor. John Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography*, II, 70-71; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1823, Pt. I, p. 471; Schomberg, V, 213, 354. For Sir Rupert D. George, see T. C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, I, 294.

³Green probably had in mind the fact that six American officers, who were prisoners at the time, attested the report, which was sent to Washington. See *Report of an Enquiry made this Day [Feb. 2, 1781] on board His Majesty's Prison Ship the Jersey under the Command of Lieutenant Sporne of the Royal Navy respecting the treatment and usage of the Naval Prisoners in all cases.* Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

whom the examination had been committed, and printed and published in the New York newspapers,¹ of which copies were sent to General Washington in reply to his remonstrance upon the subject, and which set the matter at rest, until some years after the peace, when it was raked up again from the mire of oblivion to serve the purposes of a half-crazy democracy in the city of New York.² The report is printed in one of the editions of General Washington's letters.³

But if these complaints had been founded in truth and fact, as they were not, Congress had it in their own power to apply a remedy by sending in supplies to make good the supposed deficiency in the King's allowance of provisions to men acting under their authority, whose allegiance they claimed, and who called for their protection, though in vain. Whatever had been sent in might have been faithfully applied by Commissaries in charge, but though the subject was clamorously and loudly talked of in that body, it was truly *vox et praeterea nihil*; nor could it well be otherwise, as they were really destitute of the resources necessary for the supply of the Colonial troops under the immediate command of General Washington with food and clothing, who were serving under their own eyes.

¹This report with affidavits was printed in three installments in *The Royal Gazette*, (N. Y.), Feb. 10, 14, 17, 1781. It also appeared in *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, Feb. 12, 1781.

²Shortly after the peace, the natives of Long Island noticed a quantity of bones exposed on the shore near where the *Jersey* had been moored. They were the remains of those who had died on the prison ships. A movement was soon under way for a fitting burial, and in 1793, the owner of the property, John Jackson, proposed that the interment take place under the direction of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, of which organization he was a Sachem. After considerable delay the ceremonies took place in 1808, and to the sound of cannon and after a sensational parade, the patriots were laid at rest. H. R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn*, I, 362-376.

³This report with several accompanying affidavits may be found in full in *Epistles Domestic, Confidential, and Official, from General Washington*, pp. 155-171. N. Y., 1796. A comparison of this printed report with the manuscript copy sent by Dawson to Washington reveals several unimportant errors in transcribing, the most important being the date of the covering letter, which is printed as Feb. 4, 1781, and so appeared in the New York newspapers of the time, but which was actually Feb. 2, 1781. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Another remedy was in their power to a certainty, of which they declined to avail themselves. Admiral Arbuthnot directed a proposition to be made, and I know it was made, to exchange all our maritime prisoners for the British troops in their hands by the surrender of General Burgoyne, man for man, and that it was peremptorily rejected by Congress, and probably for the same reasons, or rather motives, which led to the gross infraction of the terms of the Convention of Saratoga,¹ that the release or exchange of these troops would operate as a powerful reinforcement to the army under Sir Henry Clinton and neutralize to a like extent the aid to be rendered by the French force under Rochambeau.²

They therefore determined to retain Burgoyne's army in captivity, at least such of the men as could not be prevailed on to desert, until they could be let loose again without hazard to their own cause. At the same time the rejection was accompanied by a counterproposition for an exchange of maritime prisoners only,³ although they had a very small number of ours

¹The whole subject of the events leading out of the Saratoga Convention has been treated by Charles Deane, *Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne and the Convention of Saratoga*. This paper was first read before the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 22, 1877. Deane closes his pamphlet (p. 64) with these words: "In conclusion, I cannot resist expressing the conviction which this survey of the doings of Congress in regard to the 'Convention of Saratoga' forces upon me; namely, that their acts are not marked by the highest exhibition of good policy or of good faith."

²I am unaware of such a correspondence as herein described between Arbuthnot and Washington. Green may have reference to the proposition made by Admiral Digby in 1782 of giving up American naval prisoners for British land prisoners. This plan was deemed inadmissible by Washington as "it would prove a constant source of reinforcement to the enemy." See Washington's instructions to Brig. Gen. Knox and Gouverneur Morris, March 11, 1782, in Jared Sparks, *ed.*, *The Writings of George Washington*, VIII, 253. Cf. Washington to the President of Congress, Feb. 18, 1782, in W. C. Ford, *ed.*, *The Writings of George Washington*, IX, 443-445.

³Probably the letter of Abraham Skinner to David Sproat, June 9, 1782, is here referred to. It reads in part as follows: "From the present situation of the American naval prisoners on board your prison ships, I am induced to propose to you, the exchange of as many of them as I can give you British naval prisoners for, leaving the balance due to you to be paid when in our power." *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress.

in their [possession] and we had between two and three thousand; and they expected we were to be satisfied by their giving credit, as they were pleased to term it, for the numbers we should set free, without any other than a verbal equivalent, the solidity and punctuality of which we might conclusively and fairly infer from the fate of the Saratoga Convention. It may readily be believed that their proposal was deemed inadmissible.¹ Nothing further was done or attempted to be done in relation to those prisoners during the command of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot in North America.

My marriage² gave me new connections. The two elder brothers of my beloved wife, Suetonius³ and Patrick,⁴ were both of high rank in the Civil Service of the East India Company in Bengal, and were both distinguished for probity and talents. Both had finished their education at the first academies in England through the generous friendship and at the expense of Jacob Wilkinson, Esquire, a merchant of great eminence in London and a Director of the East India Company,⁵ who had been the early and constant friend of their deceased father. They introduced to me by letters some of their friends coming home for their healths, from an intercourse with whom I learned that the port of Calcutta, the metropolis of the commerce and

¹ Skinner's proposal was rejected by Sproat on behalf of Rear-Admiral Digby. Sproat to Skinner, June 9, 1782. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

² *Vide supra*, Vol. XVII, pp. 137-138.

³ Suetonius Grant Heatly, senior judge of the Court of Appeals in the Dacca district, died at Chittagong, Bengal, June 4, 1794. *The European Magazine and London Review*, 27: 213-214.

⁴ Patrick Heatly (1753-1834) served both in the military and civil service of the East India Company. He returned to England in middle life and later died there, July 22, 1834. *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, n. s., Pt. II, p. 308.

⁵ Jacob Wilkinson was elected a Director of the East India Company April 10 and 11, 1782. His term of office was four years, but he does not seem to have held it for the time specified, his name only appearing in the list of Directors for 1782 and 1783. He died at his house in Bedford-row, June 24, 1799. *Kent's Directory for the Year 1782*, p. 191; *The New Complete Guide to all Persons who have any Trade or Concern with the City of London*, (1783), p. 325. Obituary notice in *The Times*, June 27, 1799.

power of British India, was open to the trade of all neutral nations and that a very extensive business was very profitably carried on by British subjects to that port under the Danish, Dutch Imperial, and other flags, and actually encouraged by the Company's government, which drew from it a considerable revenue by the imposition of heavy duties, although such trade was actually prohibited to British subjects by act of parliament in favor of that Company,¹ which thus appeared to have waived its exclusive privileges.

I was in theory a merchant and had read with attention almost every work relative to India which had been published, from the account of the voyage of Commodore Anson² to the famous work of the Abbé Raynal.³ I knew that large fortunes had been made by the trade from Acapulco to India, and that the beautiful fabrics from the latter were in great demand and sold at enormous profits in the Spanish Colonies in exchange for the glittering treasures of Peru and Mexico. I was also apprised that the inhabitants of the British, French, and Spanish West Indies were supplied at third and fourth hand with the like articles, enhanced by heavy duties and charges by circuitous routes from Europe. It was therefore reasonable to infer that if a direct supply from Bengal could be brought to any free port in the West Indies, whence they might be circulated, that a large fortune might crown and reward the enterprise.

The choice of a flag to cover the ship and cargo, (for the assumption of a national flag and foreign nominal owners is so called), was not without many difficulties. These covering flags

¹The monopoly of the British trade to and from India in the hands of the East India Company dated from the year 1600, when Queen Elizabeth incorporated the English East India Company, and prohibited British subjects from trading in the East Indies without the license of the Company, under penalty of confiscation of ship and cargo. Further privileges of the same sort were granted the Company by James I. R. Grant, *A Sketch of the History of the East-India Company, from its First Formation to the Passing of the Regulating Act of 1773*, p. 9.

²An account of George Anson's voyage around the world is perhaps most accessible in W. V. Anson, *The Life of Admiral Lord Anson*, pp. 23-61.

³*Vide supra*, Vol. XVII, p. 126, note 1.

and papers could not be obtained but at a heavy expense and certain other stipulations subversive of my object, such as in case of the adoption of the flag of Denmark, that the return cargo should be imported direct to the city of Copenhagen; if that of Sweden, to Stockholm; of the Imperial flag, to Ostend; of France, to Port L'Orient;—to none of which had I any inclination to bring back the avails of my enterprise. I turned my attention, therefore, to the flag of America, or the United States.

Having by means of an agent purchased a beautiful river-built ship, which had been sold from the King's service at the conclusion of the peace, of the burthen of about 700 tons¹ and mounting 26 guns, I left her with funds to pay for her and in February, 1784,² embarked on a British packet, Captain D'Avergne, at Falmouth for New York, in order to procure such documents from the President as would nationalize my ship, the *Hydra*, and her cargo as American property during her intended voyage,³ and to obtain a naturalization by law for myself as a citizen of the United States,⁴ both of which objects

¹The burden by register was 300 tons. See articles of agreement signed at Newport between Christopher Champlin of Newport, R. I., and William Green of London, May 1, 1784. *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800*, II, 202-204. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th Series, Vol. X.

²This date is confirmed in a letter, John Powell to Christopher Champlin, May 3, 1784. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³A copy of the sea letter given to Green as supercargo of the *Hydra* may be read in the *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 217-218. It states that the ship belongs to citizens of the United States of America. This was perhaps technically true, as Green had made over his ship to Christopher Champlin as owner, in order that it might sail under the American flag. See articles of agreement, *Ibid.*, pp. 202-204.

⁴The sea letter, mentioned in the preceding note, also declared that William Green was a citizen of the United States; but this was a mistake which Champlin and Green only too willingly allowed Congress to make. It was not until May, 1786, that an act was passed in the Rhode Island General Assembly for naturalizing William Green, "a native of Great Britain, and a subject of His Britannic Majesty." *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, X, 197. See also Christopher Champlin to the Committee of the States appointed to sit in the recess of Congress, July, 1784. *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 218-219.

were accomplished in the course of a few weeks through the aid of Mr. Christopher Champlin¹ of Newport, Rhode Island, who was the uncle by marriage of my beloved wife, and who was to receive a compensation for his trouble,² and with which I returned to England in the following August.³

The temperate advice of any kind, intelligent, and judicious friend might at this time have prevented me from involving myself in a dilemma from which it became almost impossible to extricate myself, except with very heavy losses of reputation and fortune, for the laws of England were rigorous and severe to the extreme against all interlopers with the exclusive privileges of their East India Company, not only nullifying and abrogating all contracts, bonds, bargains, and debts, &c., &c., in relation thereto, but also inflicting the heaviest fines and penalties for any violation of it, together with forfeiture both of ship and cargo. All those risks were to be incurred, besides the possible knavery of the actual agent⁴ to be employed in purchasing and shipping the outward cargo in England, as well as in the outfit of the ship (*the Hydra*), and to whose probity all my fortune was to be entrusted, for I could neither with safety nor propriety appear openly in the transaction. Besides all this, no little odium was to be incurred by selecting for my adventure the cover of a

¹Christopher Champlin was born at Charlestown, R. I., February 7, 1731, and died at Newport, April 25, 1805. He took part in the expedition against Crown Point, and was commissioned a major, May 10, 1755, in the regiment of Col. Harris. The next year he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. During the Revolution, Champlin resided in Narragansett, but after the peace he took up his residence again in Newport, where he was elected alderman in 1784. G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, 1698-1821*, p. 134.

²Champlin was to receive "two and one-half per cent. upon the full amount of the said ship's outward bound cargo" within six months after the arrival of the ship in America at the end of the voyage. Articles of agreement, *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 203.

³Green left the United States probably in June, 1784. Green to Champlin, June 19, 1784. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴The agent employed by Green was William Robertson of Towerhill. Green to Champlin, Dec. 26, 1784. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

newly established flag¹ of a power yet considered to be hostile, though a peace had terminated a state of actual war, but without calming or tranquillizing the angry feelings which it had excited, of a power, too, which had contracted treaties of alliance with the bitterest enemy of the British name and nation, which were still binding and in full force and operation for its ruin. It was well known that the source of my property was in my public service, and to transfer that property and my allegiance to such a rival power could not be done or even attempted without attracting to me the severest remarks and animadversions and depriving me, in case of any calamity or misfortune, of every claim to individual or general sympathy in the dear and glorious country in which I had the happiness to be born and bred, and to which I was then, as I still am and ever shall be, devotedly attached.

And such a friend might have directed my attention to other points not less deserving of deep and very serious reflection. It was by this time sufficiently notorious that the Revolutionists, in the bitter excess of political malignity and the triumphant result of their alliance and aid from France in their contest with Great Britain, and notwithstanding that the treaty of peace, if it did not in express terms stipulate for an amnesty for the persons and fortunes of the loyalists in the Colonies who had taken arms in her cause, or were known to be attached to their ancient country, it certainly implied as much from the Revolu-

¹It is very interesting to note that Champlin instructed Green "to be extremely particular in describing the reception you meet with, from the several powers, whether native or foreign, in India, that I may regularly lay the same before the Honorable Congress of the United States, that they may be made acquainted with the respect paid to their pass, and to the American flag." At a later date, when Green and Champlin were not on such good terms, it appeared that Green had shifted his colors in India, and had taken the flag of France. "In the progress of my voyage and its event," wrote Green, "so very far from that flag being useful to any purpose of mine, that in India I was constrained to relinquish it entirely: and at the instance of my friends, and by the exertion of their interest in that country I was permitted as a special favor, and even then at a heavy expense to assume the French." See Champlin's Instructions to Green, *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 225. Also, Green to Champlin, March 14, 1788. *Ibid.*, p. 358. Cf. the same to the same, March 10, 1788. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

tionary government,—still that government either could not or would not give them protection, and that in fear of their lives from the furious enmity of their mobs, their properties having been generally confiscated and sold or made away with by the Revolutionists during the war, they had been obliged, when New York was evacuated by the British army under Sir Guy Carleton, to congregate in masses and seek shelter from their foes in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, and there on new lands and in new establishments to begin the world again. Such being actually the case, what might or rather must any individual expect, circumstanced as I had been in those times from the first commencement of the troubles till near the period of peace, but a harvest of envy and hatred, misrepresentations as to my conduct and motives, injurious with legal impunity; what from juries regardless, as was too often unhappily the case, of the sacred obligations of justice and frenzied to a degree with party policies? The truth is I realized subsequently so much of all this as to make me bitterly repent my ever having set my foot in the revolutionized Colonies. The hope, however, flattering but illusive, of doubling a fortune, to shine as young ambition is too apt to desire in the class of English gentry, for even after the successful termination of my enterprise I still intended and hoped to make England my home,—but all these topics were suggested, if at all, very feebly to my thoughts or entirely overlooked in that love of lucre which had irresistibly seized on and overpowered a mind naturally thoughtful and sober.

Voyages to Bengal were usually commenced from England towards the end of January or February or early in March, so as to arrive on the coast or bay at the opening of the southwest monsoon in June;¹ at least such was the time of sailing selected as the most favorable for the East Indian captains. My arrangements were made accordingly, and having been in England a short stay after my return thither in September² turned my

¹The monsoon in the Indian Ocean blows from the southwest from the latter part of May to the middle of September.

²See p. 119, note 3. If Green left America in June, he surely must have landed in England before September.

funds into ready money. After giving proper instructions to the agent to be employed in the equipment of the ship, the choice of officers and the investment of such an outward cargo as would be most likely to sell to advantage, in the selection of the articles for which I had the advice and assistance of some gentlemen well acquainted with the market, I resolved during the progress of the business to avoid all interrogatories and inquiries by taking up my residence in France, and not to join the ship or embark until she should arrive in the Downs and be ready for her final departure for India. I resided there till the middle of February, 1825,¹ part of that period in Paris and part at Boulogne-sur-Mer, from which last place I crossed over to Dover, where, having passed accounts with the clerk of my commercial agent sent down by him for that purpose, and I must confess with a slight and hurried inspection and little examination, I embarked on the ship *Hydra*, of which and her cargo I was the sole and entire owner, with my beloved wife and only child Mary² then about 18 months old, and on the 22nd of February weighed anchor from the Downs, and with a fair wind sailed for Bengal, although the ship was cleared out at the Customhouse of the port of London for Madeira and Rhode Island, for no clearance could have been there obtained for any ship as bound to Bengal, except under a license from the East India Company.³

We had a favorable passage to Madeira, where we took in some wine⁴ and refreshments and then proceeded on our voyage; passing the Cape of Good Hope in six weeks, in three more through the Mozambique Channel, we anchored off Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, which has been so often visited and described that I shall say little of it here. It is inhabited by a

¹A slip of the pen: 1785 is meant.

²Born in London, Sept. 9, 1783. Family papers in possession of Mr. Grant D. Green, Syracuse, N. Y.

³Cf. Green to Champlin, Dec. 26, 1784. *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 236.

⁴Green planned to receive at Madeira about seventy pipes of wine. Same letter as above.

mixed race of Arabs and Caffres, well cultivated, well stocked with cattle, swine, poultry, &c., of which we availed ourselves, and at our departure took on board twenty beeves weighing each about three Cwt., which gave us fresh meat the rest of our passage.

The only incidents meriting a note perhaps until this time were, (1) that being a little to the southward of the Cape Verde Islands about 10 A. M. one fine morning, proceeding with a gentle breeze and with a press of sail, our motion was checked for perhaps a period of two minutes and then resumed as before. I have no doubt that this was owing to our keel having touched the summit of some submarine mountain. It excited, as well it might, a momentary surprise and some consternation, but as the ocean was hardly disturbed by a ripple, it was soon dissipated; and (2) in the channel between Madagascar and the coast of Africa in the dawn of day early in May, we found we were running through a mass of water almost the color of pipe clay. Immediately sounding, we found only four to five fathom, and as we had more light we perceived that we were on a bank of various breadth from two to five hundred fathom, no land in sight, the wind and weather moderate. We put the helm aport and were again in a few minutes in deep water, but we ran along this bank till 2 P. M., when we left it altogether. It is not laid down in any chart and perhaps was till then unknown. We were not more than three weeks from Johanna until we were at anchor off Calcutta, and a more delightful passage can hardly be conceived, for the trade wind was gentle and the sea unruffled. I was somewhat surprised at that island to find the meanest of the people well acquainted with figures, the Arabic numerals in common use, and our washerman take his account of our linen with a stylus on a palmetto leaf. Some of our seamen in the early part of the voyage having received three months' pay in advance showed an inclination to give me trouble, pretending that as they had signed articles for Rhode Island only.

Nothing could, I think, exceed the beauty and magnificence of the approach to that city. Through gardens reach the country houses of the gentry of that magnificent emporium of the British

Empire in the East, resembling as many Grecian temples and surrounded to the edge of the river with the most beautiful shrubberies. I had preceded by a few hours, in a light and fast-going boat to prepare for her reception, my ship the *Hydra*, concerning which on account of the novelty of my situation and adventure I may easily be believed to have had much anxiety. I did not carry out with me a single letter of introduction or recommendation, but having some months before I left England written to my brothers-in-law to expect me, and to solicit their aid, their agent, Mr. Anthony Lambert, immediately waited on me at the hotel where I had put up and carried me to his house. There with him and at another more roomy and elegant one, to which he soon after removed, I made my home with my family during my stay in Calcutta, sharing equally with him the expense of his establishment.

The government of British India at that time being vested in Sir John MacPherson, Bart., as Senior President of the Supreme Council,¹ the next morning I paid my respects to him, and was received with a polite and friendly attention and assurances that every facility that the government could give would be afforded me and my ship and cargo. I was immediately admitted to entry at the Customhouse upon the same duties on imports as were paid by other foreign traders.

Being the first ship that had reached Calcutta that spring, and the repositories of the traders called "Europe Shops" being exhausted by the consumption of the previous year, the greatest part of my cargo was in great demand and immediately sold at 70 per cent. advance, my fortunately early arrival having anticipated the sales and excited resentments that did not fail to operate to my disadvantage with many, but which I did not deem

¹Sir John MacPherson (1745-1821) was born at Sleat in the Isle of Skye. He first sailed to India in 1767. From 1779 to 1782 he was a member of the House of Commons in England. His return to India was attended with promotion. In February, 1785, as senior member of the council, he became governor-general when Warren Hastings resigned, and he in turn resigned to Lord Cornwallis a year later. On June 10, 1786, he was created a baronet. His later life was spent in England where he cut an important figure. *D. N. B.*

it advisable to notice, and which really were neither surprising nor unreasonable. None of their regular ships arrived till near a month after me, and my cargo had afforded a sufficient supply to the market for some time. I think I cleared about fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and as I could have sold my ship for £10,000, I should have in that case nearly doubled the amount of the sum which was engaged in that voyage.¹ It would have been a happy circumstance for my fortune if I had so done, but enchanted at the idea of the enormous profits that I might derive from a return cargo to be disposed of in the West Indies, I persisted in the full execution of my original plan.

For the command of the *Hydra*, the person selected by my agent in London was a Scotsman named John Haggey.² (He himself was also of the same country). Haggey was an able seaman, a tolerable navigator, and competent under my direction to discharge decently enough the duties of his station, but his temper was malignant, he was poor, much in debt, and destitute of principle. He had been for some years a common seaman on board an East Indiaman, afterwards a petty officer in a ship bound to Benkulen³ for pepper,—a voyage commonly held to be dreadfully unhealthy,—and there the usual mortality having carried off by fevers the captain and the first and second officers, and that not being a port at which they could be replaced by men qualified for such stations, the vacancies occasioned by these deaths were filled, as they could only be, by selections from the petty officers. Thus he returned to England fourth mate, in which station he behaved so as to be reappointed to the same rank the next season in another of the Company's ships, in which he rose to be second mate and so returned.

Such unexpected and perhaps unmerited luck, for his various

¹Green certified on Aug. 23, 1786 that the gross amount of the outgoing cargo of the *Hydra* was £21,286. 1. 7½ Stg. *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 285.

²A statement on p. 217 of the second volume of *Commerce of Rhode Island* says that the captain John Clark, who had first been appointed to command the *Hydra*, had taken ill just before the sailing, and that Green was obliged to put in John Haggey in his stead.

³A port in the island of Sumatra in the East Indies.

promotions in the service were accidental, appeared to be too much for him and to unsettle his reason, as appeared by his subsequent conduct, for Mr. Dalrymple, the hydrographer to the Company,¹ having obtained a ship in their service to be employed in a survey of the Eastern Archipelago under his command and being permitted to select a second in command on whom he could in some degree safely rely for a faithful performance of the nautical duties, he selected John Haggey for that station, who was appointed nominally to be captain of the *Britannia*, intended² to make a complete marine survey thereof, the same being then but little known: but withal to serve and act entirely in obedience and subordination to Mr. Dalrymple until her return home. Ignorant and arrogant and upstart as he was, this promotion was too much for him reasonably to bear. He forgot himself so entirely and conducted himself with so much impropriety during the outfit of the ship in the Thames, that Mr. Dalrymple saw clearly and thought justly that if he began so early to display his real character it was absurd to hope anything better from him when he should be beyond the reach and control of his employers. A complaint was therefore made against him to the Court of Directors. His conduct was in consequence fully investigated, and the result was his discharge from that ship and dismissal forever from any employ in the service of the East India Company.

For two or three years afterwards he had partly subsisted upon something saved, or so supposed to be, from his former services and upon a credit depending upon hopes of the future. During the American Revolution he had been for a year or two employed in the command of a ship in the Transport Service to New York, from which he was dismissed for causes not very much to his credit. He had then been taken up by a Mr. Kemble of New York, and employed in the command of a vessel to Jamaica for some voyages, and eventually with the like results,

¹Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) was hydrographer to the East India Company, 1779-1795. D. N. B.

²The subject of this verb is "Mr. Dalrymple" seven lines above.

but without producing any material reformation or change in his conduct or character.

The termination of the Revolutionary War in 1783 drove him back to England in the following year, when his good luck and my evil destiny threw him in the way of my agent, who, without a competent knowledge of his principles, temper, or capacity, but principally, I believe, from the spirit of chancery as countrymen, gave him the command of my ship the *Hydra*. The first mate appointed by himself had made two or three voyages eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, but was in reality a knave and an imbecile. The second officer in like manner chosen by him was very young and had never been in India; the third was his own son, a stripling, about 18 and utterly unfit for the station he was appointed to. Upon such tools, such miserable tools, was the achievement of my fortune in prospect made to depend, as well as its security at that time of that which I had already involved in the adventure.

Haggey, it appeared, had adopted an opinion that the ship would have been kept for some time in the country trade under his direction as captain and supercargo, in which expectation he had probably flattered himself that he should be able through my means and perhaps at my expense to realize his hopes as to fortune; but if any such idea had ever been entertained by me, his incompetency, of which during our outward voyage I had been able fully to satisfy myself by a close investigation as to his talents, acquirements, and character, as well as his past history for some years, would have cured me. I therefore resolved to proceed with her as soon as the season would permit by the way of St. Eustatius in the West Indies, where I hoped to be able to dispose of much of my return cargo, to Rhode Island, and I resolved to terminate there forever all my concerns with him, but he had determined otherwise.

Having a full conviction that he could never again set his foot in England, so much was he involved in debt, without incurring the risk of an arrest of his person and all its calamitous results, and that he would seek an occasion to break with me and endeavor, if I gave him any pretext, to impute the cause to me

as a justification, I therefore carefully regulated myself in all respects towards him, however my opinions, with the utmost civility and friendliness of manner. I had taken a house for him in the city at a rent of 600 rupees or £75 sterling per month, (house-rent at that time was enormously high). There I kept a separate table for him and his mates, at a heavy additional expense, with a proportional establishment of native servants. He was treated by my friends and connections with all necessary urbanity, but without producing any material effect on his settled determination to effect a rupture with his employer. A more flimsy and trifling pretext than that he seized to bring it about could hardly be imagined, which was as follows:

The traders Messrs. Williams & Co., who had purchased my cargo on board and who were to receive it from the ship, being desirous to obtain some particularly marked packages in preference to others, addressed to me a note one morning whilst she was unloading requesting me to have them sent ashore as soon as possible. Being then ashore at the house of Mr. Lambert where I received it, and knowing that the discharging the ship was carried on principally by the first and second mates, I indorsed it with the following direction to the commanding officer on board the *Hydra*. Such an arrangement was necessary as if it had been delivered addressed to him and he had been absent the mate might have hesitated at compliance and have delayed it until he had been hunted up either in the city or the country. Were I at this minute on my deathbed, I do most solemnly protest that I had no intention by this measure to give him offence, nor do I think in reality that he had any reasonable ground for taking it in that light, my object being simply to expedite as soon as possible the business of the ship. However, he declared it to be such an affront and insult as he could not put up with, and that he should quit my employ, requesting at the same time a settlement of his account, which I requested him to prepare and to send me as soon as possible, and he did it very soon after.

(To be concluded)